

THE OLD SLAVERY AND THE NEW.

THIS SERMON WAS DELIVERED TO

Hartsuff Post, No. 74, G. A. R.,

Hartsuff Relief Corps, No. 37, W. R. C.

H. A. Wheeler Camp, No. 50, S. of V.

— ON —

Memorial Sunday, May 24, 1896,

*IN THE CHURCH OF THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF
ROCKLAND, MASS.,*

BY FREDERIC O. MacCARTNEY.

ROCKLAND

H. B. LOUD & CO., PUBLISHERS.

1896.

THE OLD SLAVERY AND THE NEW.

Members of Hartsuff Post of the Grand Army of the Republic, of the Woman's Relief Corps, and Sons of Veterans:

As the son of a Union soldier, a volunteer of the 7th Wisconsin, in the Iron Brigade, wounded at the second battle of Bull Run; as one born in Fort Crawford on the Mississippi, near the close of the war, and as one thus surrounded from childhood by reminders of the Rebellion; with youthful imagination fired by reminiscences of that awful struggle, I consider it a privilege to join in this service with you, on this day which inaugurates Memorial week. The living should be honored; those who risked their lives and fortunes in saving the nation; the dead should be held in tender and sacred memory, and above all the principles for which the living jeopardized, and for which the dead gave their lives, should ever be held in the minds of those who belong to this and the generations following.

I have taken for my subject: "The Old Slavery and the New." The old slavery, the Slave Power which you veterans, providentially aided in overthrowing, with its injustice, its tyrannies, its violation of the humanities, its attempt to disrupt the union and destroy the Nation, is known to history. There is a new slavery threatening the liberties of a great people, portentous in its effects on the institutions which were founded in sacrifice and saved through blood. The new slavery is in the final stages of its maturity, the result of the domination of mammon, an organized system of monopoly, a tyranny of wealth. There are those who doubt or who do not realize the fact of this new slavery. I desire then before entering upon the sermon proper to lay a foundation in facts. Then I desire in the dissertation, to treat the parallelisms and contrasts between the old and this new slavery. Let us proceed at once to lay this foundation.

One three-hundredths per cent. of the families own one twentieth per cent., or one-fifth of the wealth of the United States. One-ninth per cent. owns seventy-one per cent., thus leaving nine-tenths of the people with only three-tenths of the wealth under their control. Four hundred and twenty-one articles, necessities of life, are under monopoly or in combination, so that the quantity and price of raw material and manufactured product is not determined by the law of supply and demand, but by the arbitrary decree of persons who control access to nature's forces and products. One-third of the farmers of this country are tenants, and the percentage is increasing at an alarming rate, so that there is danger that the European tenantry system will soon be fastened upon us. Of families living in homes other than farms, two-thirds are tenants. Of farm owning families one-third have their homes mortgaged. Of other home owning families nearly one-third have their homes mortgaged. The total number of families is about twelve million and a half. Of this number the total number of families owning no homes is estimated at nearly seven millions. Seventy persons own \$2,450,000,000 of the fifty billions of wealth. As brought out before the Supreme Court in the case of the Income Tax, two per-cent. of the total population owns ninety per cent. of the total taxable property, leaving only ten per cent. of the property under the control of ninety-eight per cent. of the population. One twentieth of the families of the nation are absorbing one-third of the annual income, and nearly two-thirds of the annual increase made in the wealth of the nation.

There are five thousand millionaires in the country and hundreds of thousands of tramps. Most of the great public functions are monopolized. Instead of the government owning the railroads, telegraph, and telephone, they own the government. The medium of exchange is monopolized by the capitalists of Europe and America. Gold syndicates control our financial policy and make secret contracts for bonds with

a chief executive, clearing by one secret contract, made not long since, from six to ten millions of dollars. Intemperance, vice, crime, abounds because of poverty. The middle class is fast disappearing. Labor is a commodity. Political parties are controlled by the money power, politicians are the paid agents of monopolists, the press is subsidized, the pulpit cowed and most of the leaders swayed by those who hold the power, and in this era of mammon, *money is power*.

Is there not a danger then under this plutocracy of a new slavery? Nay open your eyes and you cannot but see the slavery by which the millions are bound while they deluded think themselves free.

The author of the "Rise of the Swiss Republic," says: "The most glaring sign of our national corruption, is the rapid growth of economic inequality. Even under a monarchical form of government, the concentration of powers into the hands of a few, is considered dangerous, but in a democracy, it is far more dangerous, it is fatal to the very existence of the state."

Hon. William Windom, late U. S. Senator and Secretary of Treasury, said a brief time before his death: "I repeat today in substance, words uttered seven years ago, that there are in this country, four men; who in the matter of taxation, possess and frequently exercise powers, which if exercised in Great Britain, would shake the throne to the foundation. These men may at any time, and for reasons satisfactory to themselves, by a stroke of the pen, reduce the value of property in the United States, by hundreds of millions. They may at their own will and pleasure, embarrass business, depress one city or locality, and build up another, enrich one individual, and ruin his competitors, and when complaint is made, reply, 'What are you going to do about it?'"

Mr. Chauncey Depew said about three years ago, and he is one who should know whereof he speaks: "Fifty men in these United States, have it in their power, by reason of the wealth which they control, to come together within twenty-four hours, and arrive at an understanding by which every wheel of trade and commerce, may be stopped from revolving, every avenue of trade blocked, and every electric key struck dumb. These fifty men can paralyze the whole country, for they can control the circulation of the currency, and create a panic whenever they will."

Mr. Justice Brown, of the Supreme Court of the U. S., said that a decision against the constitutionality of the income tax might prove "the first step towards the submergence of the liberties of the people in a sordid despotism of wealth, and is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country."

Having given this brief prelude, and having only hinted at the facts concerning the inequalities which prevail in the distribution of wealth with all the dangers attending such injustice, I proceed to the sermon proper, and take for the text the words of Jesus as recorded in the tenth chapter of Mark, and the forty-second verse. "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles, lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister; and whosoever will be first among you shall be servant of all."

These words describe the spirit of the world, which has been from the dawn of history the lust of domination. This desire for power has been the blind spirit which has pervaded the world conquerors, the Napoleons and the Alexanders, which has expressed itself in the tyrannies of monarchies, aristocracies and hierarchies, and is that spirit which is today being worshipped in the coronation of a Czar and Czarina as an ignorant and deluded people consecrate the tyranny which is crushing them. This lust of domination is that which manifests itself in the unjust and barbaric invasion of Abyssinia by Italy, which urges the Turk to perpetrate the unspeakable outrages on Armenia, and which inspired the despotic sway of

Spain over Cuba, resulting in the present revolution, which pray God may be successful. In sharp contrast the text reveals the spirit of Jesus which was that of service and sacrifice.

Now all despotisms are the same in their essential spirit and manifestations. The spirit of the slave power was the same which is revealed today in the Mammon Power. The lust for domination was the genius of slavery, this same lust for control, reveals itself in the plutocracy. The desire of most of the strong ones of the world, has been to oppress the weak. This is the outcome of selfishness. The possession of power touches the brute pride of man. Tyrants have ever lived in "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the vain glory of life." The slaveholder had social and political distinction, with ease and luxury. The plutocrat also has his political aspirations in a democracy, for most every state has its Addicks, its Quay, or its Platt, just as nearly every city has its Richard Crocker. The plutocrat creates also, artificial social distinctions, and he, too, with the slave holder by possessing wealth, has ease, may live in idleness, if he so chose, and revel in license and luxury.

The slave power and the Mammon power were both born of war. One was of physical contest, the other was the warfare of commerce under a competitive system. In the most barbaric types of warfare, the conquered were slain, but eventually it became the custom to spare the life of the conquered and make him a slave. Thus African slavery was founded in battle and perpetuated in the spirit of warfare. So monopoly was the result of the war of commerce and is continued in the spirit of struggle. It is also a significant fact that the monopolies began to take form during the war of the Rebellion and soon after. While the tens of thousands of patriots were giving their lives for the country, Mammon conspiracies, vast schemes for financial manipulation, were maturing in the minds of the money mongers of the race, so that when the old despotism of slavery went down, a new despotism rose upon the ruins.

The growth of slavery was slow and insidious. Who would have imagined that a few slaves brought on that Dutch trader in 1620 would have been increased to over three million, valued in money at \$1,600,000,000 in 1861. Yet the inroads of slavery while slow were sure. The institution had opposition as early as 1675, from John Elliot the Apostle to the Indians, it was very early condemned by the Society of Friends, George Whitefield spoke against it, and both Jefferson and Washington, while slave holders, were opposed to the institution. Jefferson in speaking of slavery said, "I tremble for the safety of my country, when I reflect that God is just."

The first Continental Congress of 1774, made the pledge that the United Colonies would "neither import nor purchase any slave," and "would wholly discontinue the slave trade." But notwithstanding this early opposition, we find that in the framing of the Constitution of the United States a compromise was admitted, which afterwards was used as a bulwark in the final encroachments of the slave power. Thus the Constitutional compromise almost ended in the destruction of the nation. The position of the people who fought for their own liberties against a foreign tyrant, was wholly untenable with the perpetuation of an institution which was a subversion of all liberty. The growth of the slave power was at first an unconscious one. Men did not recognize it as a definite institution, nor did it possess self-consciousness. But finally and inevitably those who were in the great organized power, awakened to the relation which slavery sustained to political, economic and social life, and began a deliberate course of procedure which ended in the dominance of the slave oligarchy. Mr. Cairnes in his book on "The Slave Power," says that "the career of aggression pursued by the slave power for the last fifty years, forms one of the most striking episodes in modern history, and furnishes a remarkable example of what a small body of men may effect, against the most vital interests of human society, when thoroughly understanding their po-

sition and its requirements, they devote themselves deliberately and resolutely and unscrupulously to the accomplishment of their ends."

I am not one who believes that a vast conspiracy in its totality, was inaugurated at the time of the war, in the manipulation of our financial system, but I do believe that by a series of legislative enactments in the interests of the money power, such as the Exception Clause, the National Bank Act, Contraction, the Credit Strengthening Act, Refunding, and the Demonetization of Silver, a series of Acts based on selfishness, a great money monopoly was evolved which is self-conscious, which today realizes its relation to the nation, and which deliberately manipulates legislatures, Congresses, Cabinet officers, and even Presidents of the United States, in its own interests and for its perpetuity.

The rise of the Mammon power like the slave power grew unnoticed by the great mass of the people. No ordinary mind would have believed fifty years ago, under the freedom of competition in a field unlimited, that the end would be what it is today, with all or most of the resources of the nation monopolized, most of the income of the nation going into the coffers of relatively a few men, industry controlled by the so-called "captains of industry," injustice regnant, liberty prostrate, and a tyranny more complete fastened upon America, than has ever been effected in human history.

Yet such is the condition which confronts us. Today we have before us as a nation, the problem of unloosing the folds of the octopus which grasps with its sinewy tentacles every industry, sucks the life blood of the toiling millions, blinds the eyes of the people in political action, by holding up false issues, and will eventually if not unloosed, destroy a civilization.

This is the new slavery. A slavery as real as that which chained black men together and scourged them in droves through the streets of cities; a slavery whose subtle power is unperceived by the one in bonds; a power thus hidden, difficult of access, difficult of conviction before the tribunal of public conscience. This new slave power nominates presidents for political parties, writes their platforms, contributes to their campaign funds, and corrupts their officials when they are in office, and gains through iniquitous ways, by bribery and corruption, special privileges through law.

Like the old slavery, it began in a small way. In the year 1862, a man who had kept a small country produce store in Cleveland, came into the oil regions near that city. He started in the oil business. "With him," says Henry D. Lloyd, in 'Wealth vs. Commonwealth,' "were his brother and an English mechanic. The mechanic was bought out." Other partners were added, until there were thirteen in the coterie. This body of men was the South Improvement Company, the parent of the present Standard Oil Company, the first great trust outside of the money monopoly formed in America. With this company of men begins a series of financial operations, which for fraud and criminal procedure outrivals anything in a race's history.

The aims of the two slave powers were identical. They were these. Perpetuity, Extension, Domination. Slavery easily exhausted the soil, therefore it had to have territory to expand. Without this expansion it could not continue. When it expanded it must dominate.

The slave power won its final victory by the Missouri Compromise. Henceforth it was to sway the nation in uninterrupted tyranny, until under the agitation of the Abolitionists, the people were moved to take a position of non-extension of slavery, elect Lincoln and give the occasion for secession, for to say that slavery should not extend, meant that it would eventually be abolished. Judge Warner of Georgia said: "There is not a slaveholder, but who knows perfectly well that, whenever slavery is confined within certain specified limits, its future existence is doomed."

I have said that the aims of the slave power and those of monopoly, were anala-

gous. The thirteen men whom I have mentioned, as constituting the beginning of the Standard Oil Company, had no less an aim than the complete monopoly of all oil fields and their products. They today own ninety per cent. of all the oil fields of America. But more than this. They have extended the principles of monopoly, and used like methods in accomplishing their purposes, until now they threaten to absorb much of the wealth of the nation, establishing a perpetual monopoly, with absolute domination.

The income of one of the trustees of the Standard Oil Company is variously estimated to be from twenty to thirty millions of dollars a year. These thirteen men have become according to Lloyd, "presidents or, directors in thousands of miles of railroads, valued at hundreds of millions, they stand at the receipt of custom at the railroad gates to the oil region; to the coal fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia, Illinois; the copper, gold, and silver mines of the West; the iron mines of the West and South; the turpentine forests, and the lumber regions, and cotton fields; the food producing areas of the Mississippi basin; the grazing lands of the plains. They are owners of the principle steamship line between America and Europe, and in the "whalebacks" which appear destined to drive other models out of the freight traffic of the lakes, and have begun to appear on the Eastern and Western Oceans, to capture the carrying business of the world. They are in the best things, the telegraphs, the gas supply of our large cities, street railways, steel mills, shipyards, Canadian and American iron mines, town sites. Ore dug out of their own iron mines at the head of Lake Superior is carried over their own railroads to their furnaces and mills. It rolls along until that which began to move as ore, lies at the docks of their ship-yards as a finished vessel." Continues Lloyd, "Betrayal, bankruptcy, broken hearts and death have kept quick step with the march of the conquerors in iron as in oil." "They are in the combination in anthracite coal, with which the acquisition by an American syndicate of the Nova Scotia coal deposits is closely connected (Whitney is now in Boston attempting to capture the gas monopoly and he will probably be successful.) Theirs is the largest share in the natural gas business in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, Indiana and Illinois. They are in the combination which controls lead, from pig to white, turpentine and linseed oil and paints." These men, as you see, veterans, want the earth, and they are in a fair way of possessing it. This extension of wealth, vast aggregations, is only the result of a monopoly of one commodity, oil. But monopoly and monopolistic methods naturally lead to other monopolies.

If we had time, we might trace the evolution of the coal monopoly. "Within thirty years," says Lloyd, "the anthracite coal fields have passed from the possession of thousands of citizens, into the control and ownership of railroads, controlling the highways of the coal fields." They have just formed an absolute and complete monopoly. The New York World for the third of February, '96, gives an account of a great coal trust, formed by J. Pierpont Morgan, of secret bond contract infamy, and railroads representing 24,000 miles of trackage, with a capital of one billion, nine hundred million dollars. In order to have an excuse for raising the price of coal, they turned off thousands of men.

If we had time we might trace the history of the Money Trust, which began its operation during the war of the Rebellion. This Trust was headed then as it is now by the Rothschilds of Europe. In this country, J. Pierpont Morgan is their agent, the one who made the secret bond contract with the Secretary of the Treasury, the President of the United States, in the presence of the law partner of the President. This Money Trust is participated in by the capitalists of Wall street, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, and by the National banks. This Trust is now aiming at the exclusive right to issue money by private banks which are miscalled National. It

is attempting to wrest from the nation its prerogative of coining money, which is expressly defined in the Constitution.

Time would fail us of course, to even hint at the other trusts and monopolies which are encroaching and extending until even no Missouri Compromise will limit their power or stay the absoluteness of their dominion and despotic sway.

We cannot trace the history of railroad tyranny and criminal procedure, the telegraph and telephone monopoly, or the express; we cannot mention at length the flour combination, the beef trust, the pork trust, the sugar trust, the leather trust whose manipulation during the past nine months has been felt in every shoe centre in America. Let me repeat again. Four hundred and twenty-one articles are in trust or in combination in the United States today. The quantity of raw material to be produced is determined by the decree of a few men, the amount manufactured, the quality, and the price. And do you not see that the amount of labor to be employed is thus limited? For if the amount of coal to be produced in a given time should be under the law of supply and demand, say one hundred tons, and it would take twenty men to mine this amount, do you not see that if I had the power to limit the amount produced to fifty tons by controlling the mine, I would cut down the number of men mining by one half, thus having the power to keep labor a commodity. And with labor a commodity, pure and simple, the laborer is a slave. I have said and I repeat that the aims of the slave power and the Mammon power were identical. These aims were and are—extension, perpetuity, domination. The only limit to the extension of a trust is absolute and unmitigated monopoly, and when a monopoly is thus established it uses all means and all functions public and private to perpetuate its life and rule.

I have attempted to show that the spirit of the slave power and the mammon power were the same in genius, that both powers were born of war, I have attempted to portray the insidious growth of both institutions from small beginnings until they became each in their era the dominant control of the nation, and then I have just considered the aims which controlled the men who were at the head of the slave power and the Mammon power.

I should now like to briefly consider with you the methods employed by the old slave power and the new slave power. And we must not be surprised if we shall find that the methods employed by the slave holder in the extension and perpetuity of his institution, were almost identical with those means used by the monopolist in the continuance and completion of the absolutism of his institution.

Every despotism has been a foe to freedom of speech, to discussion, to revelation, whether it be the absolutism of a Czar, the dominion of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Slave Power, or the Tyranny of Mammon. The slave power pursued with bitter, relentless hatred the abolitionist orators and speakers. They were hounded from city to city, their lives were in constant jeopardy, their meetings were repeatedly broken up, and in season and out of season, did the South attempt to secure in northern states legislative enactments whereby these pestilent abolitionists who were disturbing the peace of the nation, should have their mouths closed and their unwelcome agitation stopped. The monopolist of our day uses other and subtler methods to suppress free speech.

He brings to bear the pressure possessed from commercial control, so that the man who proposes to reveal the conditions of tyranny under which we live, is sure to have the thumb screws brought to bear on him, if he gains prominence in exposing the despotism and its methods. We are now entering upon the era of agitation, we have not as yet entered the heat of the contest, but it need not surprise you fellow citizens, if in ten years, laws shall have been passed against anarchist speakers, socialists and agitators and this law will be used by the plutocrat to stop all discus-

sion; used to impede the Reformer, as he attempts to rouse the people to the dangers of the hour, and whether he be an anarchist or a socialist in reality, if he shall oppose the money power he will be forced into that category. We are now in the stages of ridicule, where a man who discusses these questions, is looked upon as a fanatic and called so, dubbed a blatherskite, sneered at and misrepresented. The monopolist uses his chief lever, which is the dollar, in the suppression of speech. The trustees of Iowa College have received letters from the capitalists of the country, who use every means to depose Prof. Herron from the faculty of the institution. Who say that if it were not for Prof. Herron, they would give large gifts to the college, but under the circumstances they cannot see their way of so doing.

Another method of the slave power was the control of the Press. They attempted to destroy the freedom of the press. Of course all Southern papers were pro slavery, yet so great was the pressure brought to bear, that very few of the Northern papers in the early part of the agitation dared open their columns to the abolitionists. Mails were tampered with and abolitionist documents abstracted and destroyed, and the Postmaster General, when his attention was called to the outrage, assured the postmasters who were guilty of the crime that he would not keep them from the perpetuation of such high handed acts. Lovejoy had several presses destroyed by the mob. The press today is subsidized largely, by the money power. It is constantly for sale in the interests of monopoly. Speeches in the interests of monopoly or its extension are inserted in metropolitan dailies as news, which are paid for at the rate of a dollar per line. Even religious papers defend monopolists. They describe with much Christian feeling, how the chief of the oil trust attends prayer meetings, how his wife and children accompany him, and how it is no unusual thing for the great man to pray and his family to take part in the meeting sometimes occupying two or three minutes, and a certain article ends: "And is there not an example here that might well be imitated in all the churches of our Lord?"

The slave power kept to a large extent the church silent upon the question of slavery. So has the money power closed the mouths of most of the Christian ministers. The proslavery preachers then quoted scripture in defense of the institution, so today do you hear ministers of the gospel using the words of the carpenter's son in support of the claim that poverty is one of the permanent institutions of our glorious civilization. Such texts as these are used: "The poor you have with you always."

The slave power habitually used political manipulation to extend its sway. In the first place it secured by legal enactment a right of representation from the slaves, which in all other relations were considered property. The Southern States were allowed representation at the rate of three votes to every five slaves. Is this not suggestive of the attempts of employers to control the suffrages of employees today?

The slave power catered to both parties and thus for years controlled both. This the money power is attempting to do today. Men were elected time and time again even in the North because of their proslavery tendencies. So today are even senators of the United States elected to their high office because favorable to Mammon, by the most unblushing and wholesale bribery of state legislatures.

Take the case of Henry D. Payne. He was a tool of the Standard Oil Company. Members of the legislature of Ohio were bought in droves. Payne was elected senator. The people of Ohio petitioned the U. S. Senate to unseat him or to investigate. The case was referred to the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. They recommended not to investigate. The Senate adopted the majority report. Senator Hoar said: "The adoption of this majority report will be the most unfortunate fact in the history of the Senate." "Senator Edmunds," says Lloyd, "turned to his neighbor in the Senate and summed up the verdict of posterity in these words: 'This is a day of infamy for the Senate of the United States.'"

The slave power then had the use of the ablest men of the times. Even Webster and Clay were compromisers on the question while such men as John Randolph and Calhoun were the radical exponents of slavery and the slave power. Today in this respect history is repeating itself. Men of brilliancy of intellect are prostituting their abilities in the interests of the money power. Three recent Ex-Governors of the State of Massachusetts, having gained prestige by election to the high office, immediately upon retirement to the practice of law, appear before legislative committees, using their prestige, and plead the interests of corporations and trusts, in some cases becoming the exponents of palpable injustice.

Again: The slave power used the law and the constitution in its perpetuity and extension and domination. In the first place it forced a compromise in the framing of the Constitution as we have seen. Then it continually appealed to the sovereign power which in this country is the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is the real ruler of the nation and not the people nor the Constitution. For the Supreme Court interprets the Constitution, which is almost impossible of amendment, and in numerous cases the tribunal has passed upon acts by the Congress of the United States and declared them unconstitutional. The fugitive slave law which many of you violated in harboring runaway slaves, was from a decision of the Supreme Court, the Dred Scott Decision. The Missouri Compromise when pressed to issue by the slave power was declared unconstitutional. Today the money power hides behind legal enactment and the Constitution. Unconstitutionality is the last resort of the plutocracy. The Supreme Court has recently declared the income tax unconstitutional, and this by a majority of one, which judge for some reason changed his opinion within six weeks from a position for the constitutionality of the tax to unconstitutionality. The decision in the case of Tildens election to the Presidency was on a strict party vote in the Supreme Court showing its infallibility.

When the farmers of Minnesota attempt to escape the tyranny of the grain combination and have passed a bill through the legislature, which is signed by the Governor of the state, which bill gives the state the right to erect warehouses for the storage of wheat, this act of justice is thwarted by the Supreme Court of the state by the decision: "Unconstitutional." Today the money power, the railroads and the trusts defy laws which are inimical to their selfish interests, while they continually hide behind legal enactments and the Constitution in the furtherance of their plans, and the accomplishment of their conspiracies. The Interstate Commerce Act, which was enacted for the control of the railroads, was used first to coerce men to remain in the employ of the railroads, and a court puts men into prison for refusing to recognize an injunction, the legality of which was in serious question, and without clear precedent.

Says the author of the "Impending Crisis" of the Slave Power—"Through the most heart-sickening arrogance and bribery, they have obtained control of the General Government, and all the consuls, ambassadors, envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, who are chosen from the South and commissioned to foreign countries are selected with special reference to the purity of their proslavery antecedents." And this with a slight change would approximately describe the relation of the government of the United States to the Mammon Power. Leave out the word "South" and change "pro-slavery" to "pro-mammon," and the description is complete.

The favorite method of the South in the maintenance of slavery was the use of force. Fort Sumpter was not the first shot fired as a result of the war spirit of the slaveholder. In 1816 a fort on the Appalachicola River, was abandoned by the British and occupied by the Seminole Indians. These Indians had been in the habit of

harboring escaped slaves, and as a consequence were attacked by the Army of the United States at the behest of the slave power. Monette, in his *History of the Valley of the Mississippi*, says that nearly the whole of the inmates of this fort on Spanish territory were involved in indiscriminate destruction. "The cries of the wounded, the groans of the dying, with the shout and yells of the Indians, rendered the scene horrible beyond description." Not one sixth of the whole escaped. Thus did even the United States army lend its aid to the slave power. Has the United States army ever been used by and in the defense of monopoly?

Force was the continual instrumentality used in the subjection of the slave. Thus force characterized the methods employed by citizens in dealing one with another. Force was used continually in persecuting the abolitionists, until it culminated in the murder of Lovejoy.

As we shall briefly investigate, we shall find that monopoly has repeatedly used force in its battle with commercial opponents, and in gaining its ascendancy.

By 1887, the Oil Monopoly had shown its power by practically closing the railroads to the use of independent refiners. A pipe line had been built called the Tidewater, but was surrendered through fraud to the monopoly. Again the people attempted to build a pipe line to the sea, then the monopoly gave forth the decree that there should be no more drilling for oil, knowing that by shutting off the supply of oil the new pipe line would be rendered useless. Men who in defiance of this order went on putting up machinery and drilling wells, would find their derricks blown into kindling wood by nitro glycerine.

This pipe line being built by the independents was continued, until it reached Hancock, New York, there it had to pass under the Erie railroad bridge, in the bed of the river. Lloyd, in describing the following incident says, "The last Saturday in November, 1892, the quiet of Hancock was disturbed by the arrival of one hundred armed men, railroad employees by special train. They unlimbered a cannon, established a day and night patrol. Dynamite was a part of their armament. Cannon are a part of the regular equipment of the oil combination, as they are used to perforate tanks in which the oil takes fire. For months this armed force was maintained with its cannon and its arms and its dynamite, and finally the new pipe line was given up, and the route through Hancock was abandoned." And during all this time of unspeakable tyranny and effrontery, the chief of the oil company was attending prayer meetings, endowing educational institutions, and sending missionaries to the heathen.

This oil monopoly has not hesitated to bribe men to blow up the works of its competitors. In one case which has fortunately been brought to light, many lives would have been lost, if the attempt had been successful.

If we had time today, veterans, we might trace in outline the conspiracies and frauds used by other monopolies of America in gaining their ascendancy. Railroads owning coal mines have made such discrimination in rates between themselves and their competitors that they have been ruined. Coal agents for the coal monopolist are bound by oath to maintain prices, and are thus become the instruments in the hands of the monopolist in despoiling their neighbors, butchers are forbidden to kill their own beef under pain of being "frozen out" if they disobey the command.

The means by which the Standard Oil Company gained its ascendancy, and thus laid the foundations for monopoly of oil, but laid also a basis for the control of other raw and manufactured products, have been characterized by the rankest fraud. Rebates have been given this company by the railroads, thereby enabling the favored few to run out of the business their competitors, the independent refiners. More than this, a portion of the freight paid by the independents has been in certain cases deliberately given to the monopoly. "The construction of new lines of transportation

and pipe lines has been resisted on the part of the monopoly, by litigation, by violence, by cannon, by legislation." Continuing in the words of Lloyd, "The cost of pipeage has been raised, rivers and canals have been closed, oil has been made to run to waste on the ground, the overflow has been shut down. There has been dismantling and explosion of the works of the independents. High fees have been paid for inspection and the monopoly has influenced these inspectors, the use of tank cars and tank steamers, has been denied the independents, they have been excluded from the use of docks, store houses and other terminal facilities, inventors and their better processes have been smothered"—and so the list of crime might be extended. The methods used by this one monopoly are samples of those employed by the rest of the trusts. And with such facts before you, can you refuse to admit that a new slavery is threatening the nation? Will you ignore these conspiracies, will you condone these crimes, will you wink at these outrages on justice, will you still sleep while these chains are being forged for the millions, while this despotism rears its mighty power, forstalling the time when action can avail? God grant not!

What were some of the effects of African slavery, and what are the effects of the new slavery? Economically the South was impoverished by the system which it odorately maintained. Today smooth-tongued orators discant on the enormous wealth of the United States, ignoring the fundamental principle of economics that it is not the sum total of wealth in a nation which makes it prosperous, but the equitable distribution of that wealth. Writers on slavery say that the slave made no attempt at economy, under the blight of his servitude, becoming despondent and reckless, so must you citizens eventually expect the millions of the wage earners who are becoming more and more dependent, to finally lose all sense of or desire for thrift and economy. With a hopeless future before them they will live recklessly in a profligate present. What hope is there for the farmers of the West, as they see their homes slowly slipping from them, under the gradual fall of the prices of their products under the manipulations of the Wall street gamblers and money mongers? Read Hamlin Garland's "Main Travelled Roads" if you wish to know of their condition. What hope has the laborer, as he sees wages continually falling, with work only half the time at that? What hope have the hundred thousand in the sweat shops of this country? What hope have the miners of the coal fields? Listen while I quote from Lloyd; "The coal companies in the anthracite regions keep thousands of surplus laborers on hand to underbid each other for employment and for submission to exactions; hold them purposely ignorant as to when the mines are to be worked and when closed, so that they cannot seek employment elsewhere; bind them as tenants by compulsion, in the companies' houses, so that rent shall run against them, whether wages run or not, and under leases by which they can be turned out with their wives and children on the mountain side, in mid winter, if they strike; compel them to fill cars of larger capacity than that agreed upon; make them buy their powder and other working outfit, of the companies, at an enormous advance on the cost; compel them to buy coal of the company at the company's price, and in many cases to buy a fixed quantity, more than they need; compel them to employ the doctor named by the company, and to pay whether sick or well; "pluck" them at the company's stores, so that when pay day comes around the company owes the man nothing, there being authentic cases where sober, hard working miners toiled for years, or even a life time, without having been able to draw a single dollar, or but a few dollars in actual cash, "in debt until the day they died." Does this smack anything of slavery, are there slaves in America today? Socially slavery resulted in a caste system. The 400 of New York are not a myth, the lines are drawn as close as in a country with nobilities, dukes and lords and earls, and the plutocrat seeks to marry his daughters with the impoverished lords of another land, that the toilers may build up the estates of the crumb-

ling aristocracy of Europe. Says the author of "Despotism in America" a book on slavery "Political and social equality are essentially dependent on equality of wealth. The truth of this observation is confirmed by universal experience. Those who possess the property of a country, have always succeeded in obtaining the political power. Revolutions of property have always produced political revolutions." This is an epitomy of the political effects of plutocracy.

Morally the effects of African slavery and the present wage slavery are analagous. Several years ago a man named Casper Hauser in Germany was forcibly detained by enemies. He finally escaped. He prosecuted his detainers and the courts brought in a verdict of guilty, and denominated the act, "the murder of the soul." This crime "the murder of the soul," was perpetrated in African slavery, this crime, "the murder of the soul," is being committed against the millions of the poor as they by the present system are kept in poverty and ignorance. Intemperance is the child of poverty, prostitution is encouraged by poverty, vices flourish in poverty, crimes spring from the dank soil and murder grows like a flower of night. The slave was characterized by intemperance, impurity, theft, gambling. So today are the very poor drawn into the same conditions morally and spiritually. But the moral blight fell upon the slave holder as well. Many of them were drunkards, befouled morally. From ennui they gambled and the very maintenance of the institution encouraged the military spirit and needed murder to make it successful. Today our so-called society classes are addicted to the same vices and perpetrate the same crimes. The military spirit is growing as if the plutocrat would imitate the slave holder in the maintenance of the present system by building arsenals and cadet armories; and a certain gentleman of Boston advises that the military be marched up and down the streets of Boston at stated times in order to awe the populace. Fools, they know not what they tamper with. Let them learn the lessons of the French Revolution. No! the same general moral effects will follow every despotism whether in the ruling classes or in the oppressed, whether in the rich or in the poor.

Let us not accept the conventional view as described by Shakespeare:

"Through tattered clothes small vices do appear;
Robes and furred gowns hide all. Plate sin with gold
And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
Arm it in rags, a pigmy's straw doth pierce it."

This may be the common judgement of the common tribunal, yet the ultimate justice will reveal all.

The general effects on the nation of the joining of the slave power and the Mammon power, the in its incipency, are portrayed by Channing in almost perfect description of the conditions of today. I will quote him. He says: "The Slave oligarchy of the South and the capitalist of the North, the great planter and the great manufacturers, divided as they were on some points of policy, yet brought a concerted power to bear upon public opinion, until the mean law of mercenariness took full possession of political parties. The moral degradation that ensued was awful. The United States were thus presenting to Christendom the spectacle of a nation nobly born, purely bred, rarely privileged, even yet in its youth, sinking into decrepitude and wasting away through political profligacy."

Friends, the slavery of the present is real, the serfdom of the millions is a fact. Jesus described the lust of domination: "They which are accounted to rule, lord it over them, and their great one exercise authority." He gave also the conditions for true spiritual greatness, "Whoever would become great among you shall be your minister; whosoever will be first among you shall be servant." Yet the poor today in this bondage have not even the power of self sacrifice, for true service and real self-sacrifice, must be voluntary. W. D. Howells says in his essay on "Liberty," "Self-sacrifice can be the act only of those who are free; others may be sacrificed,

but these alone can sacrifice themselves."

The defenders of the plutocracy talk to us, rather "prate" about the "freedom of contract" as if a laboring man out of work, with no money, with a wife and children, with a mortgage on his home, were a fit subject to become the party of the second part in a free contract. Friends! Freedom of contract is a myth. Even the employer, unless he is a monopolist, is hardly free. Both the employer and the employed are dependent on the owner of raw material. They "prate" to laboring men about "freedom of movement." How can the laborer whom I have described move elsewhere, and what good would it do if he did so move? The same conditions would meet him elsewhere. And thus he is an absolute dependant and not a free man. Howells says: "Till a man is independent, he is not free, as long as he must look to the pleasure or the profit of another man for his living he is not independent," and again, "When a man is not free to choose he is not free at all."

The most awful thing in connection with this whole matter, veterans, and friends, is the attitude of the American people toward this growing despotism, your attitude, your apathy, your indifference; the bondage of the people to dominant political parties, the leaders of which drive them like sheep to the polls. Forgive these words yet before God, you know that they are true.

The people deceive themselves, that the crisis is far off. The slaveholders who realized the possible calamities which might come as the result of African slavery, said according to the Richmond Enquirer, "Well, well, this thing to the worst in our day, we will leave it to our children and our grandchildren and great-grandchildren to take care of themselves and to brave the storm."

The nobility before the French Revolution, said, "After us the deluge." So the people now who have their attention called to these momentous conditions say, "Not in our day, not in our day." The Enquirer is commenting upon the words which I have first quoted, and it applies to the crisis of today, said, "Is this to act like wise men? Means sure but gradual, systematic but discreet, ought to be adopted, for reducing the mass of evil which is pressing upon the South, (we would change this to the nation) and will still more press upon her, the longer it is put off. We say now in the utmost sincerity of our hearts, that our wisest men cannot give too much attention to this subject nor can they give it too soon."

There was in the days of old, an irrepressible conflict between the slave power and the lovers of freedom. Either slavery must go down or the nation bow to the despotism of the slave power, and thus in time sink to certain ruin.

Monopoly will go on conquering and to conquer, until the government and the people are in its grasp, or the people must rise up and destroy it. Says Lloyd, "Industry and monopoly cannot live together." And again, "Liberty and monopoly cannot live together." One more quotation and I am near the end. Says our beloved Lincoln, our hero and our martyr, writing to Hon. W. R. Ellis, near the close of the war:

"It has been indeed a trying hour for the Republic; but I see in the near future a crisis arising that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power will continue its sway, by appealing to the prejudices of the people, until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed. I feel more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my fears may prove groundless." If you will not listen to the voice of an humble, living man, will you heed the warning words of the dead, "the greatest of Americans."

Veterans: What avail your sacrifices in the war; the long night marches in the wilderness, the bitter necessity of taking life in battle, the pain of wounds and the

sicknesses in hospitals, and the weary bondage of Libby or Andersonville, if the flag for which you fought, in the completed despotism of wealth, becomes a mockery? What avails it father, mother, sister, that your son and brother gave his life to free three million black slaves, if sixty millions of white slaves fall into perpetual bondage? Of what avail the solemn fact, that today there sleeps on the sunny slopes of southern hillsides the thousands of the brave boys in blue, if the nation which they saved then, shall be destroyed now? Of what avail shall it all have been. all, all, if our country which might have had a destiny, crowned with the effulgence of the glory of God, shall sink under the new slavery, into darkness and night?

